

UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASED IN PART

CONFIDENTIAL

B1, 1.5(D)

Date Printed:
09 Jan 2003

DOC_NBR: 1994GENEVA04440

CHANNEL: n/a
HANDLING: EXDIS

27

Case Number: 200203990

<<<<. >>>>

CONFIDENTIAL

E9

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04440 01 OF 03 111348Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCO-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----45B038 111348Z /38

O 111349Z MAY 94 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9224
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 GENEVA 04440

DECAPTIONED

EXDIS

FOR AF, RP, IO, HA
ALSO PASS AID FOR BHR AND BHR/OFDA
ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, EAID, MARR, AORC, ICRC, RW
SUBJECT: [] REQUESTS USG INTERVENTION WITH RWANDAN
OFFICIAL TO STOP KILLINGS; COMMENTS ON UNAMIR MANDATE

B1

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 04440 01 OF 03 111348Z
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. IN A MEETING WITH VISITING BHR/OFDA
DIRECTOR NAN BORTON, []
[] ASKED THAT THE USG MAKE DIRECT, IMMEDIATE
CONTACT WITH A PARTICULAR RWANDAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL
WHO HAS ESTABLISHED LISTS OF INTELLECTUALS AND OTHERS TO
BE KILLED IN ENCLAVES WITHIN RWANDA. TWENTY-SIX SUCH

B1

Page - 1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: CHARLES L. DARIS
DATE/CASE ID: 8 APR 2003 200203990

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed:

CHANNEL: n/a

27

09 Jan 2003

DOC_NBR: 1994GENEVA04440

HANDLING: EXDIS

Case Number: 200203990

PROFESSORS AND INTELLECTUALS WERE KILLED ON THE KAPGAYE COMPOUND NEAR GITARAMA IN AN INCIDENT IN RECENT DAYS.

3. REGARDING THE MANDATE OF AN EXPANDED PEACEKEEPING FORCE, [REDACTED] COMMENTED THAT PROTECTION OF [REDACTED] RELIEF WORKERS AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE CONVOYS IS NOT A MAJOR PROBLEM, BUT THERE IS AN URGENT NEED TO PROTECT GROUPS IN ENCLAVES WHO REMAIN ENDANGERED EVEN AFTER RECEIVING RELIEF ASSISTANCE. THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE RWANDANS IN CYANGUGU STADIUM COULD POSSIBLY BE HELD THERE AS "HOSTAGES" TO BE KILLED IF THE RPF FORCES MAKES SUBSTANTIAL ADVANCES. IN THEIR VIEW, THE ONLY WAY TO PROTECT THE RWANDANS IN THE STADIUM MAY BE THE SURPRISE ARRIVAL OF HIGHLY-EFFECTIVE PRATROOPERS.

B1

B1

4. [REDACTED] THAT THE RWANDAN ARMY BEGAN EXTENDING THE CYANGUGU AIRPORT RWAY ON MAY 10, AND THEY ASSUME THIS IS FOR PUPOSE OF RECEIVING ARMS SHIPMENTS. BASED ON DAIL VISITS TO THE AREA [REDACTED] THEY SAID THAT DISPLACED PERSONS IN SOUTHEASTERN RWANDA (ACROSS FROM THE TANZANIAN BORDER) WERE NOT IN OBVIOUS DANGER FROM THE RPF AND SEEMED INCLINED TO REMAIN WHERE THEY WERE. END SUMMARY.

B1

B1

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03

GENEVA 04440 01 OF 03 111348Z

5. AID'S BHR/OFDA DIRECTOR NAN BORTON AND BHR/FFP ACTING EMERGENCY DIVISION CHIEF TIM LAVELLE MET THE MORNING OF MAY 11 [REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED] MISSIONOFF (NOTETAKER) ALSO ATTENDED. MUCH OF THEIR DISCUSSION CENTERED ON [REDACTED] ACTIVITIES IN RWANDA.

B1

6. AS THE CONVERSATION WAS ENDING AT NOON GENEVA AND KIGALI TIME, [REDACTED] TOLD [REDACTED] BY TELEPHONE THAT A "MODERATE" RWANDAN GENERAL (UNNAMED), WHO HAS BEEN A GOOD [REDACTED] CONTACT IN KIGALI, HAD JUST SPOKEN TO THE [REDACTED] [REDACTED] THE GENERAL SAID THAT THE DIRECTOR OF CABINET, COL. THEONESTE BAGOSORA, HAD ESTABLISHED LISTS TO USE IN ELIMINATING RWANDANS WHO HAD REGROUPED IN ENCLAVES AROUND RWANDA (E.G., SANS FAMILLE IN KIGALI,

B1

B1

B1

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed:
09 Jan 2003

DOC_NBR: 1994GENEVA04440

CHANNEL: n/a
HANDLING: EXDIS

27

Case Number: 200203990

CYANGUGU STADIUM, ETC.). THE GENERAL HAD BEEN VERY AGITATED AND ASKED THAT IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION BE MADE WITH COL. BAGOSORA. [REDACTED] THEN ASKED BORTON TO PASS ON [REDACTED] REQUEST TO WASHINGTON THAT A RESPONSIBLE USG OFFICIAL MAKE A PHONE CALL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO COL. BAGOSORA AND URGE MODERATION ON HIS PART. HE CAN BE REACHED THROUGH THE OFFICE OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IN KIGALI AT TEL 751-60 RPT 751-60.

B1
B1

[REDACTED]
(NOTE. WE ARE AWARE OF USG PHONE CALLS TO RWANDAN OFFICIALS FROM BOTH SIDES, BUT DO
CONFIDENTIAL

B1

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 04440 01 OF 03 111348Z
NOT RECALL IF CONTACT HAS BEEN MADE IN THE PAST WITH THE DIRECTOR OF CABINET. END NOTE.)

7. [REDACTED] SAID THERE ALSO WAS A POSSIBILITY THEY WOULD ASK THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO DO THE SAME, [REDACTED]

B1
B1

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04440 02 OF 03 111348Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCO-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----45B03C 111348Z /38
O 111349Z MAY 94 ZFF-4

Page - 3

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

B1

CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed:
09 Jan 2003

DOC_NBR: 1994GENEVA04440

CHANNEL: n/a
HANDLING: EXDIS

27

Case Number: 200203990

FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9225
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 GENEVA 04440

EXDIS

FOR AF, RP, IO, HA
ALSO PASS AID FOR BHR AND BHR/OFDA
ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, EAID, MARR, AORC, ICRC, RW
SUBJECT: [] REQUESTS USG INTERVENTION WITH RWANDAN
[]

B1
B1

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 04440 02 OF 03 111348Z
8. AS AN EXAMPLE OF WHY [] FEELS THIS THREAT IS REAL
AND IMMEDIATE, 26 DISPLACED RWANDANS (PRIMARILY
PROFESSORS AND INTELLECTUALS) ON THE KAPGAYE COMPOUND
NEAR GITARAMA WERE KILLED BY RWANDAN ARMY SOLDIERS IN AN
INCIDENT IN RECENT DAYS. THE HUGE COMPOUND (SOME TWO
MILES' SQUARE) INCLUDES AN AREA FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES,
ANOTHER AREA FOR INTERIM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND AN
AREA WITH 40,000 INTERNALLY-DISPLACED PERSONS (MOSTLY
TUTSIS AND MODERATE HUTUS) WHO RECEIVE ICRC ASSISTANCE.

B1

9. [] ALSO REVIEWED WITH BORTON AND
LAVELLE [] ACTIVITIES IN RWANDA. [] SAID THE
MASSACRES ARE BY NO MEANS DIMINISHING AND RWANDA REMAINS
A NIGHTMARE. [] RECEIVES REPORTS EVERY DAY ABOUT NEW
DEATHS. [] SAID HE VIEWED THE ACTIONS AS WORSE THAN
GENOCIDE; NOT ONLY TUTSIS ARE KILLED, BUT THOSE HUTUS
WHO DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE MASSACRES. HE LAMENTED THE

B1
B1

B1
B1

Page - 4

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed:
09 Jan 2003

DOC_NBR: 1994GENEVA04440

CHANNEL: n/a
HANDLING: EXDIS

27

Case Number: 200203990

EARLIER GOR DECISION TO ISSUE I.D. CARDS IDENTIFYING AN INDIVIDUAL'S ETHNIC GROUP, SINCE THE CARDS HAVE FACILITATED DETERMINATION OF WHO IS TO BE KILLED.

10. IN KIGALI, THERE WAS HEAVY SHELLING ON MAY 10. [REDACTED] CONTINUES TO TRY TO FIND RELEVANT AUTHORITIES WHO COULD DO SOMETHING EVEN TO MINIMIZE THE KILLINGS. [REDACTED]

B1

B1

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 04440 02 OF 03 111348Z

11. IN THE RPF ZONE, [REDACTED] IT IS POSSIBLE TO DRIVE FROM KABALE, UGANDA, TO THE TANZANIAN BORDER VIA KIBUNGO, SO THOSE TEAMS CAN ESTABLISH LINKS WITH EACH OTHER. [REDACTED] ACTIVITIES IN THE RPF ZONE, WHERE MOVEMENT IS EASIER, [REDACTED]

B1

B1

B1

[REDACTED] LOGISTICS REMAIN A PROBLEM IN THE ZONE. [REDACTED]

B1

13. IN RESPONSE TO BORTON'S QUESTION REGARDING INTERNALLY-DISPLACED RWANDANS REMAINING IN THE SOUTHEAST WHO HAVE NOT YET CROSSED INTO TANZANIA, [REDACTED] SAID THEY ARE NOT UNDER OBVIOUS THREAT FROM THE RPF (AS OBSERVED IN DAILY VISITS TO THE AREA [REDACTED] AND ONE SHOULD NOT "AUTOMATICALLY" BLAME THE RPF FOR CLOSING THE BORDER. BASED ON MOVEMENTS OF THE INTERNALLY DISPLACED IN RECENT YEARS, HE SAID THAT RWANDANS OFTEN MOVE IN LARGE NUMBERS AS PART OF GROUP PSYCHOLOGY. HE SAID THE RWANDANS MAY HAVE DETERMINED THAT CONDITIONS WERE BETTER INSIDE RWANDA THAN IN TANZANIA, OR IT MAY BE THAT HUTU PEASANTS -- WHO FEAR THE RPF -- ARE AFRAID TO PASS RPF SOLDIERS AT THE BRIDGE. HE SAID INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE FIELDS IN THAT AREA ARE BEING TENDED.

B1

B1

14. [REDACTED] SAID THAT DE FACTO FIELD-LEVEL COORDINATION

B1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed:
09 Jan 2003

DOC_NBR: 1994GENEVA04440

Case Number: 200203990

CHANNEL: n/a
HANDLING: EXDIS

27

OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WAS WORKING EXTREMELY WELL.
WFP WILL BE WORKING IN THE MAIN AREA IN THE EAST
(KAKITUMBA TO GAHINI) AND FROM THE SOUTH UP TO BUTARE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 04440 02 OF 03 111348Z
(ESPECIALLY TO ASSIST BURUNDI REFUGEES STILL IN
RWANDA). [] WILL COVER THE AREA FROM KABALE, UGANDA,
TO KIGALI AND WESTWARD. [] ALSO WILL COVER THE AREA
FROM KIGALI TO BUTARE. NGO'S ARE BECOMING MORE ACTIVE
IN THE RPF ZONE, WHERE IT IS GENERALLY NOT DANGEROUS TO
WORK.

B1
B1

15. BORTON ALSO ASKED ABOUT THE NUMBERS KILLED SINCE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04440 03 OF 03 111348Z
ACTION SS-00

INFO LOG-00 CCO-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----45B041 111349Z /38

O 111349Z MAY 94 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9226
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY

Page - 6

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed:
09 Jan 2003

DOC_NBR: 1994GENEVA04440

CHANNEL: n/a
HANDLING: EXDIS

27

Case Number: 200203990

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 GENEVA 04440

EXDIS

FOR AF, RP, IO, HA
ALSO PASS AID FOR BHR AND BHR/OFDA
ROME FOR FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, EAID, MARR, AORC, ICRC, RW
SUBJECT: [] REQUESTS USG INTERVENTION WITH RWANDAN

B1

APRIL 6. [] THIS TIME WAS RELUCTANT EVEN TO GUESS;
CONFIDENTIAL

B1

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 04440 03 OF 03 111348Z

[] SAID WE WILL EVENTUALLY HAVE TO COUNT THE NUMBER
OF SURVIVORS TO MAKE THE DETERMINATION. [] SAID
THERE HAVE BEEN TOTAL MASSACRES IN SOME AREAS, WITH NO
TUTSIS REMAINING, BUT ALL HAVE NOT YET BEEN MASSACRED
AND POCKETS SURVIVE.

B1

B1

16. [] THEN SPECULATED THAT THE RWANDANS BEING HELD
IN THE CYANGUGU STADIUM COULD BE "HOSTAGES" WHO WILL BE
KILLED IF THE RPF GAINS TOO MUCH GROUND. HE THOUGHT
SIMILAR KILLINGS POSSIBLY COULD TAKE PLACE IN THE SANS
FAMILLE ENCLAVE IN KIGALI AND OTHER ENCLAVES IN THE
COUNTRY. [] IS ABLE TO KEEP THESE PEOPLE ALIVE WITH
SOME ASSISTANCE -- [] PERMITS THEM TO
DELIVER FOOD AND WATER TO THOSE IN THE STADIUM, E.G. --
BUT [] SAID THERE WAS NO GUARANTEE THE RWANDANS
WOULD BE ALIVE WHEN [] RETURNED THE NEXT DAY.
SHE SAID THAT [] HAD BEEN AWARE OF PLANS TO KILL THE
CHILDREN IN THE ORPHANAGE IN GISENYI AND WAS ABLE TO
EVACUATE THEM HOURS EARLIER.

B1

B1

B1

B1

B1

B1

17. THE CONVERSATION THEN TURNED TO A CANDID DISCUSSION
OF THE PERSONAL, "OFF-THE-RECORD" VIEWS []
[] REGARDING THE POSSIBLE INCREASE IN THE UNAMIR
PEACEKEEPING FORCE. [] SAID THAT THERE IS NO
PRESSING NEED FOR PROTECTION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

B1

B1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

Date Printed:

09 Jan 2003

DOC_NBR: 1994GENEVA04440

Case Number: 200203990

CHANNEL: n/a

HANDLING: EXDIS

27

CONVOYS OR RELIEF WORKERS; AID CONVOYS CAN TRAVEL BY ROAD AND (NON-BELGIAN) EXPAT RELIEF WORKERS ARE NOT TARGETTED. THE BIG NEED IS TO SAVE THE POPULATION FROM BEING MURDERED. TO PROTECT THE RWANDANS IN CYANGUGU, IT COULD TAKE THE SURPRISE ARRIVAL OF A LARGE NUMBER OF PARATROOPERS. [] SAID IT IS MOST IMPORTANT FOR

CONFIDENTIAL

B1

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 04440 03 OF 03 111348Z
UNAMIR TROOPS TO PROTECT THE POCKETS OF ENDANGERED RWANDANS, AND THE TROOPS WILL NEED TO KEEP FROM APPEARING TO FAVOR THE GOVERNMENT BY INTERFERING IN KIGALI. HE SAID IT SHOULD BE A "CHAPTER 6.5" UN OPERATION. [] SAID THERE SHOULD BE A CLEAR MANDATE TO PROTECT THOSE IN DANGER.

B1

18. [] SAID A KEY ISSUE FOR THE UPCOMING SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS DELIBERATIONS WOULD BE TO FIND LEGAL PROCEDURES TO HOLD THE ORGANIZERS ACCOUNTABLE. [] INSISTED THE ORGANIZERS ARE VERY WELL KNOWN IN THEIR RWANDAN COMMUNITIES.

B1

B1

19. [] ALSO LEARNED TODAY THAT THAT THE RWANDAN ARMY BEGAN EXTENDING THE CYANGUGU AIRPORT RUNWAY ON MAY 10. [] ASSUMES THIS IS FOR PURPOSE OF RECEIVING ARMS SHIPMENTS. HE ASKED THAT THIS INFORMATION, TOO, BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

B1

B1

20. PLEASE ADVISE IF THE REQUESTED TELEPHONE CALL TAKES PLACE, SO WE CAN INFORM [] OF USG ACTION IN THIS REGARD. THANKS.

B1

21. OFDA DIRECTOR BORTON HAS CLEARED THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS CABLE.

22. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
SPIEGEL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED